

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 HONG K 08982 071135Z

50

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-25 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-15 NIC-01 SAJ-01 OMB-01 DRC-01 EB-11 /123 W

----- 031666

R 071000Z SEP 73

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8110

INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE HONG KONG 8982

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJECT: STATE COUNCIL AND TENTH CONGRESS

REF: HONG KONG 8771

SUMMARY. PRESENT STATE COUNCIL REPRESENTATION ON THE TENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS UP SIGNIFICANTLY FROM 1969, BUT ONLY HALF-WAY BACK TO ITS PRE-CULTURAL REVOLUTION LEVEL. STRIKINGLY, NO ADDITIONAL POLITBURO SEATS WENT TO THE STATE COUNCIL. PRIOR TO THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, SEVEN MINISTERS WERE POLITBURO MEMBERS OR ALTERNATES. THIS CABLE EXAMINES HOW THE LEADERSHIP FACTION MOST CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH CHOU-EN-LAI FARED IN THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS. END SUMMARY.

1. AS FAR AS REPRESENTATION ON THE TENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS CONCERNED, THE PRESENT STATE COUNCIL HAS REGAINED ABOUT HALF THE GROUND IT LOST DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. (A NEW STATE COUNCIL WILL BE NAMED AFTER THE LONG-ANTICIPATED NATIONAL PEOPLE'S

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 HONG K 08982 071135Z

CONGRESS IS FINALLY HELD, AND THIS COULD ALTER SOME OF THE ANALYSIS WE PRESENT BELOW.) IN 1962, BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION BEGAN, 56 GOVERNMENT CADRE WERE ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THIS WAS ONE-THIRD OF THE ACTIVE POWER HOLDERS AT THAT TIME (REFTEL). THE 1969 NINTH CONGRESSLIST DROPPED THAT REPRESENTATION TO 34, AND THE STATE COUNCIL'S SHARE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SEATS GIVEN OVER TO CADRE (AS OPPOSESED TO WORKER-PEASANT TYPES) WAS CUT DOWN TO 17 PERCENT. (THE NUMBER OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE SEATS HELD BY CADRE--AS OPPOSED TO MASS ORGANIZATION SYMBOLS--HAS REMAINED AT ABOUT 200 SINCE 1958.) LAST WEEK'S APPOINTMENTS BROUGHT STATE COUNCIL REPRESENTATION BACK UP TO 45-22 PERCENT OF THE POWER-HOLDING GROUP.

2. POLITBURO: STRIKINGLY, THE STATE COUNCIL MADE NO SIMILAR GAINS IN THE POLITBURO. BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, SEVEN MINISTERS (LI HSIEN-NIEN, LI FU-CHUN, HSIEH FU-CHIH, CHEN I, LU TING-I, PO I-PO, AND AGRICULTURAL STAFF OFFICE CHIEF TAN CHEN-LIN) WERE POLITBURO MEMBERS OR ALTERNATES. TWO SURVIVED TO 1969 (LI HSIEN-NIEN AND HSIEH FU-CHIH), BUT ONE (HSIEH) SUBSEQUENTLY DIED AND NOW ONLY ONE REMAINS ON THE NEW POLITBURO. OF THE NEW APPOINTEES TO THE POLITBURO, ONLY PEKING BOSS WU TEH--WHO ALSO HEADS THE STATE COUNCIL'S CULTURAL GROUP--PARTLY REPRESENTS THE GOVERNMENT (AND WE CLASS HIM AS PROVINCIAL PARTY).

3. IF WU, WHO REPLACED HSIEH FU-CHIH AS PEKING CHIEF, IS ALSO CONSIDERED TO HAVE FILLED THE STATE COUNCIL SEAT ON THE POLITBURO HSIEH FORMERLY OCCUPIED, THEN THE STATE COUNCIL FACTION (WHICH INCLUDES CHOU EN-LAI AND ELDERS TUNG PI-WU AND CHU TE ALONG WITH LI HSIEN-NIEN) REMAINS AT ITS 1969 STRENGTH OF FIVE OUT OF 25. IN 1965, THE GROUPING HAD TEN OF 20 SEATS. THE CONTINUED LOW LEVEL OF STATE COUNCIL REPRESENTATION ON THE POLITBURO CANNOT BE TIED TO A LACK OF QUALIFIED CANDIDATES. IN ADDITION TO REHABILITEES SUCH AS VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING, LI FU-CHUN, CHEN YUN, AND EX-VICE PREMIER TAN CHEN-LIN, THERE ARE ABLE PLANNERS LIKE YU CHIU-LI AND KU MU. ALL WERE BYPASSED IN FAVOR OF THE EIGHT PROVINCIAL-BASED PARTY CADRE AND MASS ORGANIZATION REPRESENTATIVES ELEVATED INSTEAD.

4. ONE MAY ARGUE THAT WHILE THE STATE COUNCIL HAS REGISTERED NO GAINS, CHOU'S GROUP OF SUPPORTERS HAS. IN ADDITION TO WU TEH, PROVINCIAL LEADERS WEI KUO-CHING AND SAIFUDIN ARE APPARENT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 HONG K 08982 071135Z

MODERATES, PEASANT LEADER CHEN YUNG-KUEI IS OFTEN PUBLICLY IDENTIFIED WITH CURRENT AGRICULTURE POLICY, AND WORKER NI CHIH-FU IS A PEKING MUNICIPAL SUBORDINATE OF WU TEH. FURTHERMORE, PLA CHIEF YEH CHIEN-YING, WHO FIRST MADE THE POLITBURO IN 1967 AND IS NOW PROMOTED TO BE ONE OF THE FIVE VICE CHAIRMEN, HAS ALWAYS BEEN CLOSE TO CHOU. IN PERSONAL TERMS, THEREFORE, CHOU MAY HAVE

THE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF FORTY PERCENT OF THE NEW POLITBURO.
EVEN THIS INTERPRETATION MAY UNDERSTATE CHOU'S PRESENT INFLUENCE
OVER THE PLA THROUGH YEH CHIEN-YING.

5. BUT AS CHOU'S PERSONAL INFLUENCE MAY BE TRANSITORY, HIS
FAILURE TO EXPAND STATE COUNCIL STRENGTH ON THE POLITBURO MAY
HAVE MORE IMPORTANCE IN THE LONGER RUN. IT IS PERHAPS IRONIC
THAT IN PROVIDING FOR AN ORDERLY SUCCESSION TO MAO, CHOU HAS
NEGLECTED TO PROTECT HIS OWN BUREAUCRACY--WHICH, AMONG ITS
POLITBURO REPRESENTATIVES, COUNTS TWO MEN OVER EIGHTY. ON THE
OTHER HAND, CHOU MAY HAVE DESIGNED THE STATE COUNCIL'S PRESENT
LOW PROFILE IN ORDER TO KEEP BUREAUCRATS OUT OF THE INEVITABLE
NEXT POWER STRUGGLE, SO THAT THEY WILL BE BETTER ABLE TO SERVE
AND PROVIDE CONTINUITY FOR WHATEVER NEW MASTER STEPS FORWARD.

6. CENTRAL COMMITTEE: TWENTY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S 115
NEW MEMBERS AND ALTERNATES BELONG TO THE STATE COUNCIL GROUPING,
WITHIN WHICH WE ALSO INCLUDE SCIENTISTS. SINCE NINE MEMBERS OF
THE NINTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHO COULD BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE
STATE COUNCIL WERE NOT REELECTED (SIX HAD DIED), THE GOVERNMENT
FACTION'S NET GAIN WAS ELEVEN. THE TOTAL GROUPING OF 45 CAN BE
BROKEN DOWN INTO SIX SUB-UNITS, WHICH FOLLOW:

A. SENIOR FIGURES (TEN)-- POLITBURO MEMBERS CHOU EN-LAI,
TUNG PI-WU, CHU TE AND LI HSIEN-NIEN; VICE PREMIERS CHEN YUN,
LI FU-CHUN, AND TENG HSIAO-PING(NEW); FORMER VICE PREMIER TAN
CHEN-LIN (NEW); NPC VICE CHAIRMAN KUO MO-JO, AND NPC STANDING
COMMITTEE VICE CHAIRMAN CHOU

E E E E E E E

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COMMITTEE MEETINGS, FORM OF GOVERNMENT, SOCIAL CHANGE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 SEP 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: elyme
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973HONGK08982
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: n/a
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: HONG KONG
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730961/aaaakanm.tel
Line Count: 141
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: HONG KONG 8771
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: elyme
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 23 JUL 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23-Jul-2001 by reddocgw>; APPROVED <13-Nov-2001 by elyme>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> mcm 980316
Subject: STATE COUNCIL AND TENTH CONGRESS
TAGS: PINT, CH, PINT
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005